21 Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

tidy so as to offer no obstacle to the women burdened with their crammed carrying baskets (pl. 5, *b*). Swamps are crossed on extended tree trunks, along which poles are sometimes planted to afford a grip. Brooks are spanned by foot bridges, that is, by thick logs which rest on props driven into the water. These supports are of scissors shape and occasionally have horizontal poles tied to them above for a railing. The logs are sometimes hewn flat on the upper surface so as to prevent the feet from slipping off. If a very thick tree trunk topples across a trail, the Indians will sometimes lay a number of poles close together on both sides, thus making an inclined plane for comfortably ascending and descending.

At a distance of seven hundred meters from the circle of houses, where the eastern race track crosses the Ribeirão Santo Estevão, the villagers have their main water supply; there throughout the day one meets Indians of any age and either sex, bathing or fetching water (pl. 2, *b*). Another source, only occasionally utilized by the inmates of two or three houses, was situated two hundred meters farther downstream, in the shade of a picturesque old tree. The Santo Estevão, which even in the dry season may attain a width of 15 m. and a depth of 1.70 m., furnishes very fine, limpid water.

Five hundred meters north of the village there is a slope draining toward the Santo Estevão, though a little brook formed at the bottom only during the rainy season (pl. 2, *a*). As soon as the Canella had settled, they planted numerous burity palms to the distance of half a kilometer on the floor of the valley, so that today water is to be found there even in the driest of dry seasons. The Indians further stocked the watercourse created by them with little fish and a young crocodile they had caught—in the hope that these water animals would do their bit to form a true stream of the steppe. No one fell foul of this artificially established burity stand. I have rarely seen chief Kukrãčą′ so indignant as when he saw in his niece's hand a young burity leaf she had brought back from her water-carrying trip; he came near dealing her a blow.

The Krĩkatí of Canto da Aldea, at the farthest source of the Rio Pindaré, lacked running water, relying on sundry water holes dug at the bottom of the dried-up bed of the creek.

. *Houses.*—All the Timbira have settlements nowadays, with houses designed for several years' tenancy; and there they dwell in full numbers, especially during the ceremonial season, from May until August. The form of the houses varies in the several tribes, and to some extent even within a single village, but it invariably bears a strong resemblance to the type in vogue among the poorer Neobrazilians. Since this extends far beyond the Timbira zone among Neobrazilians, occurring likewise among the unrelated Guajajára, we may assume that the Indians have adopted it from their civilized neighbors. The question remains under what influences it developed among the Neobrazilians.

Of the Timbira, the Rąmkõ′kamekra undoubtedly have the best houses. Two parallel rows of forked posts (ikréyõčwáhi) support two horizontal beams (pĩteka'pa), which are connected by two other beams laid across their ends at right angles. In the central line of the interior space there are two or three taller posts (ikréyemáganopĩ) which bear the ridgepole; this is at each side somewhat shorter than the framework. From each end of the ridgepole two girders descend (ikreyõ) over the four corners of the frame. The intervening spaces are filled with a sufficient number of rafters for the attachment of the thatch. Thus the house has a top composed of four planes, the hip-roof type by itself establishing its nonaboriginal character.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Timbira, remained hostile until their extinction, to which the Rąmkõ'kamekra contributed their share.[202] The southern frontier witnessed fights with the Neobrazilians, whose predecessors in that region are unknown. The Apą'nyekra to the west were not precisely hostile, but neither was there true friendship between these two Canella tribes, who in fact have not yet achieved that relationship.

Bravery.—Ribeiro, familiar with Timbira warfare through long years of personal experience, unreservedly bears witness to the great bravery of these Indians:

Fora-lhes algum tempo horrorosas as nossas armas de fogo, porem familiarizados com tudo o que nos diz respeito, até sabem que sem a bala ou chumbo, a mesma polvora não vale contra elles: e é isto tanto assim, que quando sentem haver semelhante falta, avançam destimidos para tiral-as das mãos aos soldados, o que tem muitas vezes acontecido. De braço a braço poucos homens apparecem que possem medir com elles a valentia; as mesmas indias não degeneram em robustesa, e já observamos uma que vindo prisioneira, quiz fugir levando debaixo do braço a sua sentinella, e o faria se não lhe tivessem acudido; era ella de bôa altura e tanto bem proporcionada que lhe chamavam nossos soldados a Lazan grande.

(Formerly our firearms inspired them with fear; but today, when they are familiar with everything concerning us, they even know that powder is impotent without bullets and shot, so that as soon as they note such deficiency they fearlessly advance, in order to snatch them [the weapons] out of the soldiers' hands, as has frequently happened. Man to man, there seem to be few men able to vie with them in point of bravery. Even the women are not inferior in robustness and we have seen one such brought in as a captive who tried to escape by dragging along her guard under her arm and would have succeeded if he had not received aid. She was of goodly stature and so well built that our soldiers dubbed her "the big sorrel mare.")[203]

And again:

Ha entre elles homens muito valorosos! Nos observamos em 1801 a coragem com que um gentio Capiekrans defendeu a sua liberdade contra doze soldados, que o surprehenderam quasi sem armas, e primeiro tiveram estes a crueldade de fazel-o em pedaços do que a gloria de prendel-o. Em 1807 observamos tambem a animozidade de um dos Timbiras das matas, que sahindo de certa emboscada ao meio de mais de cem homens nossos, que se distrahiam em differentes trabalhos, na occasião em que se estabeleceu o arrayal do Principe Regente, matou um delles, espancou outros, e retirou-se airosamente antes de poder ser ofendido.

(There are very brave men among them! In 1801 we observed the courage with which a Capiekrans [= Rąmkõ'kamekra] Indian defended his liberty against twelve soldiers who had surprised him almost unarmed and had rather the satisfaction of cruelly cutting him to pieces than the glory of capturing him. In 1807 we also observed the audacity of a Forest Timbira [= Cą'kamekra], who dashed from some ambush into the midst of over a hundred of our people employed with sundry tasks at the founding of the Arroyal do Principe Regente; he killed one man, attacked several others and dexterously withdrew before he could be made to suffer any injury.)[204]

At present the Timbira, weakened by defeat and disease, know that the overwhelming majority of their civilized neighbors are merely waiting for a pretext to pose as defenseless victims of Indian savagery, demanding corresponding coercive measures by officials and the government, or even to resort to such on their own initiative. Hence an Indian hesitates for a long time before reacting to Neobrazilian insults and threats, thus acquiring a character for "cowardice." But even nowadays the camel's back will break: not many years ago, in the presence of half a dozen people in front of a fazenda, the Rąmkõ'kamekra Wakái shot down a Neobrazilian with an arrow, when the man continued for a long time to vituperate the at first unresisting Indian and threaten him with death.

Tactics.—Against Neobrazilians the Timbira presumably applied surprise attacks from ambush, but against their own kind they were by no means afraid of open

[202] Nimuendajú, The Gamella, 8.
[203] Memoria, § 19.
[204] *Ibid.*, § 22.